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HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Letter dated 11 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Myanmar to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum in connection with General Assembly resolution 51/117 of 12 December 1996, entitled "Situation of human rights in Myanmar" (see annex).

I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda item 112 (c).

(Signed) Win MRA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Annex

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN MYANMAR

Introduction

When a draft resolution on the "situation in Myanmar" was adopted for the first time by the United Nations General Assembly, the delegation of Myanmar did not take part in the adoption, since the draft resolution was found to be highly intrusive, amounting to interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Successive resolutions on Myanmar, instead of depicting the objective realities prevailing in the country, only attempted to underline the negative elements as perceived in some quarters. They were used as devices to put pressure on the Government. Since the resolutions failed to give due recognition to the significant progress and developments that have been achieved and were based primarily on unsubstantiated allegations, the delegation of Myanmar dissociated itself from the adoption of those resolutions.

Resolutions on Myanmar maintain a distinctive characteristic, especially in terms of co-sponsorship. They are glaringly co-sponsored by a particular group of countries and a few others that are linked with them. The majority of co-sponsors represent one particular geographical area, clearly demonstrating a clash of cultural values and traditions between them and Myanmar. It is therefore evident that the co-sponsors lack a clear understanding of Myanmar's concept of human rights, their situation in Myanmar and its root causes.

Myanmar's concept of human rights is based on traditional and cultural values, and priority is given to the promotion of time-honoured traditions, values and the rights of society as a whole. A developing third-world country like Myanmar has to give priority to basic human needs such as food, clothing and shelter and the right to live in peace and security.

As a matter of policy, Myanmar does not condone human rights violations since it is committed to the principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Myanmar is home to over 135 national races. Unity among the diverse national races is essential for the preservation of Myanmar's independence and sovereignty. All of the national races had lived through weal and woe until the annexation of Myanmar by the British. Many of them took up arms against the central Government immediately after independence as a result of the divisive policy pursued by the colonialists vis-à-vis the national races of Myanmar. The internal strife lasted over 40 years, and it gave rise to unstable conditions in the country, hindering the economic development. For these reasons, the question of national reconsolidation in Myanmar is deeply rooted in history and is far more difficult to comprehend than generally realized. When the State Law and Order Restoration Council assumed national responsibility, it placed at the top of the national agenda the achievement of national reconciliation and reconsolidation by making peace overtures to the insurgent groups in 1989.

Since then, the State Law and Order Restoration Council has made a remarkable achievement in national reconsolidation, with the return to the legal fold of 16 armed groups and the unconditional surrender of the drug-trafficking Mong Tai Army. As a consequence, peace now prevails in the country as never before. Places previously designated as unsafe are now undergoing rapid rehabilitation and development.

To sum up, due to the relentless efforts of the Government, Myanmar is witnessing unprecedented achievements in all its national endeavours. If these achievements were given due recognition without negativism and subjectivism, more understanding would be created among the delegations in the consideration of the situation in Myanmar.

This memorandum provides information in order to shed light on the present conditions in the country.

Admission of Myanmar as a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Myanmar's policy of upholding the five principles of peaceful co-existence in its international relations and ASEAN's policy of constructive engagement have achieved a result which will serve the long-term interests of regional peace, stability and prosperity. On 23 July 1997 the Union of Myanmar, together with the Lao People's Democratic Republic, was admitted as a member of ASEAN at a ceremony held in accordance with the unanimous decision taken at the meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers held in Kuala Lampur, Malaysia, on 31 May 1997.

Amid various attempts on the part of certain Western countries to derail Myanmar's admission to the Association, ASEAN demonstrated its clear understanding of Myanmar's problems in their true perspective. This, coupled with the far-sighted and constructive policy of ASEAN, finally led to its decision to admit Myanmar into the regional grouping.

Myanmar's admission to ASEAN is a significant landmark in the contemporary history of Myanmar. It is an important achievement for ASEAN as well since the vision of ASEAN's founding fathers has come closer to achievement with two new members, whose integration into the mainstream of ASEAN activities is bound to have a positive influence on the region, thereby contributing in the long run to the preservation of international peace and security.

With its admission to ASEAN, Myanmar's commitment to the interests of the region is irrevocable. As stated by H.E. U Ohn Gyaw, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Myanmar, at the ceremony, Myanmar is determined to fulfil its responsibilities and obligations as a member at both the national and regional levels and poised to become a positive factor for the region and the world at large.

Myanmar is also taking an active part in regional economic cooperation. Myanmar took another important step when it joined BIMST-EC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand - Economic Cooperation) in August in 1997.

Achievement in national reconsolidation

Fully aware of the vital importance of the unity of the national races for the preservation of independence and sovereignty as well as for the economic and social development of the country, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) has given priority to the strengthening of unity among the national races. Since 1989, less than one year after it assumed national responsibility, the SLORC has made serious and strenuous attempts to achieve national reconciliation with the national races, by inviting the insurgent groups to return to the legal fold. After initial contacts had been made with the armed groups, the Government continued to make attempts to build confidence between it and the armed groups by unilaterally suspending military offences against them. At the same time, the Government strove for the development of border areas and national races, launching infrastructure projects in the border areas. A separate Ministry was also established to supervise the implementation of those projects. The remunerations of governmental employees serving in those areas were also doubled and other facilities were also provided as incentives to enhance their service for and commitment to the development of those areas. In addition, in areas where poppy cultivation was the main source of income, crop substitution as well as income substitution schemes were implemented with increasing success. These schemes are still going on.

The genuine efforts of the Government for the development of border areas and national races have enhanced the national races' confidence in the Government. With full trust in the Government, 16 armed groups have returned to the legal fold and they are now actively engaged in the development tasks of their respective regions. This is a remarkable achievement, unprecedented in Myanmar's efforts to achieve national reconciliation. Never in its modern history have such a large number of armed groups returned to the legal fold within so short a span of time.

The Karen National Union (KNU) is the only armed group which remains outside the legal fold. Determined to achieve the goal of national unity, the Government even suspended all military operations against the KNU and subsequently held four official rounds of peace negotiations with the KNU (December 1995, February, June-July, November 1996). Sincerely convinced of benefit for the country from the success of these peace negotiations, the Government made every effort in good faith to achieve agreement with KNU. Although negotiations were close to success, they failed to bear fruit, principally due to KNU's rejection of terms similar to those which the Government had offered to and had been already accepted by other armed groups. It was the KNU that unilaterally suspended the peace talks. In addition, it exploited the respite provided by the peace talks, strengthening and reinforcing its units. It also made political moves by sponsoring meetings of anti-government groups such as the National Democratic Front (NDF), the Democratic Allies of Burma (DAB) and the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB). It issued announcements against the Government while at the same time committing terrorist acts - i.e., the bomb explosion at the Kaba Aye Pagoda in Yangon and mining of Yangon-Mandalay passenger train.

Since a large number of KNU's members have returned to the legal fold, the KNU is now composed only of few old guards, much diminished in strength. From

February to July 1997, over 1,000 members of the KNU alone returned to the legal fold and traded their arms for peace.

The KNU's raison d'être is the continued existence of the above-mentioned anti-government groups. For this reason, unscrupulous elements outside the country are providing the KNU with all kinds of assistance.

National Convention

Myanmar is in the process of establishing a multi-party democracy. Myanmar is not yet a fully functioning democracy. It is the present Government that is endeavouring to effect the transition to multi-part democracy. Since Myanmar is composed of over 135 national races, it is essential to have an enduring constitution that will safeguard the interests of all the national races. This is being undertaken through a National Convention, a process being carried out patiently and systematically. Since none of the national races in Myanmar has ever been engaged in such a process, it is vitally important for the National Convention to take adequate time so that a firm and enduring constitution will emerge from the process.

The National Convention is a systematic political process in which political party delegates, representatives-elect, delegates of national races, peasant delegates, worker delegates, intelligentsia delegates, service personnel delegates and invited persons participate. These delegates represent all walks of life in the country. The National Convention has approved 15 chapter headings of the Constitution and laid down 104 fundamental principles. It has also adopted detailed principles to be used under the chapter headings of the State, the State structure and the Head of State and the detailed principle on self-administered areas/zones and principal branches of the State structure - the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

It is worth noting that the structure of the new State constitution already approved by the National Convention will provide a greater degree of autonomy - that is, legislative, executive and judiciary power - to the states and regions than was ever provided in Myanmar since independence. This new entity in the State structure, therefore, entails difficult and delicate discussions on how to share the power between the central organs of the State and the states/regions. This is a very delicate matter with serious implications for the future of the country.

Although, the plenary of the National Convention is not in session, the National Convention process is not at a standstill. Discussions are going on in the working groups of the National Convention to achieve genuine consensus of the national races on the matter of power-sharing.

Disturbance to peace and stability

In late 1996 and early 1997, anti-government elements engaged in subversive activities with the ulterior motive of creating a chaotic situation in the country.

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The first such instance was the student unrest that erupted in December 1996. It was not a spontaneous movement, touched off by students' resentments against the Government, as often alleged. The cause of the unrest was a trivial quarrel between three students and some civilians at a restaurant near a bus terminal in Yangon on 20 October 1996. The students were incited by politically motivated elements to take to the streets and to demonstrate against the Government. On investigation, a large number of members of a political party, including its leadership, were found to have been responsible for the incidents. In short, due to the incitement orchestrated by politically motivated elements, a simple quarrel grew into widespread unrest. The Government had to take action against 11 members of that political party and 23 other persons, none of whom were students.

The student unrest created an atmosphere on the campuses which was not conducive to the peaceful pursuit of studies. As a result, classes at universities were temporarily suspended to avoid further unrest and to safeguard public order. Since the atmosphere has greatly improved, some universities and all post-graduate courses have now resumed, and efforts are also under way to resume all the classes.

When the student unrest failed to create a chaotic situation in the country, as desired by them, the same politically motivated elements intensified their activities to a new level by resorting to terrorist acts. On 25 December 1997, two bombs exploded at the Kaba Aye Pagoda in Yangon where the Buddha's Sacred Tooth Relic, on loan from China, was displayed for public worship. Taking place where a large number of pilgrims were paying homage to the Sacred Tooth Relic, one explosion killed five innocent people. This blasphemy was, on investigation, found to have been committed by a bomb squad dispatched by the KNU and anti-government expatriates in collusion with some elements inside the country.

In March 1997, those elements, taking advantage of an incident involving a Buddhist girl and a Muslim youth, incited some Buddhist monks in Mandalay. The motive was obviously to create misunderstanding between the two religions. They selected Mandalay where there is a large population of Buddhist monks. The authorities concerned, with the cooperation of the leaders of both religious communities, took appropriate measures, and the problem was peacefully resolved.

Again on the evening of 6 April, a parcel bomb exploded at the residence of Secretary (2) of the SLORC, killing his eldest daughter, a mother of two small children. On investigation, the plan for a series of terrorist attacks, including the parcel bomb explosion, was hatched by some expatriate groups, together with members of other unscrupulous elements based in Japan. The Government has already sought the cooperation of the Japanese authorities in this matter.

It may also be recalled that in May of 1996, the National League for Democracy (NLD) attempted to hold a meeting with a view to drawing up a parallel constitution, although it had been participating in the National Convention process until November 1995. At that time, NLD was holding weekend gatherings where it inflamed the people and slandered the Government and the Tatmadaw (armed forces). These acts to undermine peace and stability compelled the

Government to proclaim law No. 5/96 which contains provisions any violation of which carries imprisonment for a term of a minimum of 5 years to a maximum of 20 years, with fine.

On 22 and 26 May 1996, the NLD held its anniversary meeting under the chairmanship of U Aung Shwe and a Central Executive Committee member, without seeking permission, though required by law. Seventy party members were present at the meeting. In connection with these meetings, it was alleged that the Government had arrested NLD members (A/52/170). There were no arrests whatsoever. The fact of the matter is that local governmental authorities persuaded the NLD members of their respective jurisdictions to refrain from acts that might be tantamount to undermining the community's peace and stability and tranquillity and prevalence of law and order. Had they committed these acts, the authorities concerned would have been required to take legal action against them under Law No. 5/96, which then would entail their imprisonment. Taken with a view to avoiding such an eventuality, the actions of the authorities were good-intentioned and preventive in nature.

The NLD made a new attempt to hold another public meeting on 27 and 28 May 1997 without seeking permission from the authorities concerned. It was learnt that the NLD did not even make preparations for the holding of this particular meeting. The fact that they did not seek permission, in defiance of the existing laws, cannot but be construed as a deliberate attempt to provoke the Government to take action against the NLD members with the ulterior motive of creating unfavourable international reaction.

There were no persons detained in connection with those NLD commemorative meetings.

In dealing with the above-mentioned situations, engendered by NLD's attempts to hold the said meetings, the Government exercised the utmost restraint and resorted to preventive measures with the objective of safeguarding peace and stability, placing the larger interest of the country and people before that of a particular party.

However in September 1997, the NLD acted in accordance with the law by seeking prior permission from the Government when it was planning to hold a meeting to commemorate the ninth anniversary of its founding. With the Government's permission, the ninth anniversary of NLD was held in the compound of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on University Avenue on 27 September 1997, as scheduled. Again on 28 September 1997, the NLD continued the second-day meeting of its ninth anniversary. Both meetings were attended by local journalists and correspondents of foreign news agencies, and they were concluded without any incident.

In October 1997, NLD sought permission from the Government to hold a religious ceremony, which was again granted.

It is to be noted that all political parties are required by existing laws to seek prior permission before holding public meetings, and no political party can be exempted from this requirement. The Government had also permitted the

National Unity Party to hold its party meeting when it similarly sought prior permission.

The NLD leadership again attempted in late October 1997 to carry out youth organization activities in two townships in Yangon. Although the Government suggested that these activities should be organized at the residence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for reasons of her security and of peace and tranquillity, the NLD did not heed the suggestion of the Government and threatened to continue these activities.

Combating the drug menace

The Government of Myanmar has always been firmly committed to the eradication of narcotic drugs in Myanmar. It has been making sustained efforts under a well-conceived and coherent strategy to achieve this objective. At the national level, Myanmar's political commitment to eliminate the drug menace has been proved beyond any doubt by the sacrifice of lives and limbs by members of the armed forces in the military operations against the drug traffickers. In these operations from 1988 to August 1997, 776 members of the armed forces including 25 commissioned officers, sacrificed their lives, and 2,351 members, including 84 commissioned officers, sustained serious injuries. It would be difficult to imagine whether such sacrifices have ever been made elsewhere. With the objective to gradually eliminate poppy cultivation by promoting the standard of living of the national races, the Government spent 49,571 billion kyats on the development of border areas from 1989 to 31 May 1997. In the Government's efforts to reduce supply, the national leaders of the border areas are cooperating with the Government. As a measure of supply reduction since 1989, 11 destructions of narcotic drugs have been carried out in Yangon in the presence of foreign diplomats and journalists. The principal narcotic drugs destroyed up to the eleventh destruction are as follows: opium, 11,912.825 kg; heroin, 1,961.657 kg; marijuana, 4,246.505 kg; phensedyl, 26,525.574 litres.

Moreover, in the border areas, the destruction of narcotic drugs, drug refineries and poppy plantations has been carried out 18 times, in cooperation with the local populace and their ethnic leaders, who have in recent years returned to the legal fold. As a result, 36,682.03 acres of poppy plantations were destroyed. In respect of demand reduction, drug education was prescribed in the school curricula, and multiplier courses on the subject were conducted for headmasters and schoolteachers. These are important steps to prevent the culture of drug abuse from spreading to the vulnerable segments of the population.

Myanmar also recognizes that narcotic drugs transcend national borders and the threat can only be overcome with international solidarity. In this regard, Myanmar's cooperation with its regional neighbours is well known. Myanmar has been stepping up its cooperation with Thailand, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, China, India, Bangladesh, the Russian Federation, Viet Nam and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme. Although the United States Government suspended its assistance to Myanmar in 1988, Myanmar continues to cooperate with the Drug Enforcement Agency of the United States. Joint opium yield surveys conducted by the United States Opium Yield Survey Team with

Myanmar counterparts are a biennial feature of this cooperation. Three surveys have been carried out since 1993.

In its efforts to combat the menace of narcotic drugs, Myanmar has achieved a series of remarkable achievements, as follows:

(a) In early 1996, U Khun Sa and his Mong Tai Army (MTA), numbering tens of thousands, renounced drug trafficking and surrendered unconditionally, bringing with them a vast arsenal of assorted weapons. The development was a breakthrough in Myanmar's war on the drug menace;

(b) In April 1997, Myanmar declared Mongla Special Zone (4) in Kyaington in Eastern Shan State as a drug-free zone. The achievement was the ultimate result of a five-year plan which was implemented with the active participation and cooperation of resident nationals of the region;

(c) Special Zone (2) of the Eastern Shan State and Special Zone (1) and (2) in Kachin State have been designated for establishment of drug-free zones;

(d) In a spirit of cooperation, the Myanmar authorities handed over the drug-trafficker Mr. Li Yun Ching to the Thai Authority in May 1997.

The Myanmar Government will continue its efforts to eradicate the drug menace with full commitment.

Allegations of repression

The Government has taken responsibility for the personal security of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at her own request. However, such security measures provided have been misinterpreted and turned into allegations of restrictions on her and the NLD. The following events, which are well publicized, prove that these allegations are biased or misinformed:

(a) On 4 January 1997, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held a ceremony at her residence to mark the Independence Day of the Union of Myanmar and also held a press conference which about 500 people attended;

(b) On 3 February, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held a press conference at her residence on University Avenue, attended by both local and foreign correspondents and some members of the embassies in Yangon;

(c) On 12 February, the NLD held a commemorative ceremony for the Union Day of Myanmar, without seeking permission from the authorities. The attendance at the ceremony was reportedly estimated at 900 people. Diplomats and foreign correspondents were present on the occasion;

(d) In March 1997, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi held press meetings, one at the residence of U Kyi Maung, Vice-Chairman of the NLD, and the other at the residence of a top party functionary of the NLD.

Furthermore, there were no restrictions whatsoever on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in her contacts, be they social or otherwise, with the high-ranking officials of

certain embassies of the West in Yangon. And these contacts are common knowledge.

Except in circumstances where the Government was constrained to take preventive action with a view to maintaining public order, the Government was most tolerant. In fact, NLD is playing a destabilizing role in the politics of the country by resorting to a negative political campaign against the Government, without justification. In addition, it has urged foreign businesses not to invest in Myanmar, called for a boycott of "Visit Myanmar Year", and at every opportunity, slandered the Government. Despite all these, the Government has exercised utmost restraint in handling matters involving the NLD and its members. Such a degree of tolerance would have been inconceivable elsewhere.

Meeting with the Chairman of the NLD

On 17 July 1997, Lt. General Khin Nyunt, Secretary (1) of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) cordially received Chairman of NLD U Aung Shwe and two Central Executive Committee members. This was the first meeting between the Government and the NLD since it unilaterally withdrew from the National Convention process in November 1995. It is a positive and conciliatory gesture on the part of the Government towards the NLD. On 15 September 1997, nearly two months after the first meeting, Secretary (1) extended an invitation to U Aung Shwe and two other Central Executive Committee members of NLD for an open discussion with the senior officials of the Government. Although the Chairman of the NLD and two CEC members had welcomed the invitation of the Government, the meeting scheduled for the next day, 16 September 1997, did not materialize. While Secretary (1) of the SLORC, together with the Chairman of the National Convention Convening Committee and Minister of Religious Affairs, the Chief Justice, the Attorney General and the Commander of Yangon Command, was expecting the arrival at the meeting of the NLD Chairman and two CEC members, it was intimated through a liaison officer that the Chairman of NLD had decided not to attend the scheduled meeting since "he was not at liberty" to keep the appointment with the governmental leaders. It was regrettable that the second meeting could not be held since personal interests seemed to have taken precedence over that of the party. As such, it has proven more and more difficult for the Government to continue its sincere efforts for further contacts with the NLD.

Myanmar's cooperation with the United Nations

Myanmar has consistently cooperated with the United Nations to the fullest extent possible. As its track record in this respect stands as proof, Myanmar made every effort to comply with the requests of the United Nations for its representatives to visit Myanmar. Myanmar had accepted the visits of Madame Ogata, the Independent Expert of the Commission on Human Rights and of Professor Yozo Yokota, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission. In 1996, the Government of Myanmar went an extra mile to cooperate with the United Nations when Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw came to New York solely for a round of discussions with Mr. Alvaro de Soto, the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Again in June 1996, Myanmar promptly responded to a request of the United Nations for a meeting between Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw and Mr. Francesc Vendrell, the Director of East Asia and Pacific. The Myanmar side made special

efforts to enable Mr. Vendrell to meet Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw in Bangkok, while Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw was on his way to Malaysia on an official visit.

Early this year, the Government of Myanmar received the two visits to Myanmar of the representatives of the Secretary-General.

The first was the visit to Myanmar of Mr. Francesc Vendrell from 17 to 21 February 1997. During the visit, Mr. Vendrell held discussions with Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw and other high-ranking officials of the Government.

In May 1997, Mr. Alvaro de Soto paid a visit to Myanmar. That was the first visit of Mr. Alvaro de Soto in his capacity as the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General after Mr. Kofi Annan had assumed his high responsibilities as the new Secretary-General. While in Myanmar, Mr. de Soto met with Lt. General Khin Nyunt, Secretary (1) of the SLORC, Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw and other high officials of the Government from 7 to 10 May.

While in New York for the fifty-second session of the General Assembly, Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw held another round of discussions with Mr. de Soto at United Nations Headquarters on 1 October 1997.

Concerning the request for the Special Rapporteur appointed by the Commission on Human Rights, Judge Rajsoomer Lallah, to visit Myanmar, it must be underscored that the report of his predecessor on Myanmar disappointingly failed to reflect the true situation in Myanmar, although he had ample opportunity to see the positive developments in the country. Instead, the report only reproduced the litany of complaints that invariably emanated from dubious and politically motivated sources. As a result, the situation in Myanmar was unfairly and most negatively portrayed. This has given rise to some misgivings about the benefit to the country of a special rapporteur's visit at this juncture. However, Myanmar does not preclude the possibility of such a visit by Mr. Lallah at a time which the Myanmar Government deems appropriate.

Conclusion

It is the present Government that is laying the foundation for the establishment of multi-party democracy. Until such a time when a fully-functioning democracy has been established, any criticisms against the present Government are tantamount to prejudging the outcome of the Government's efforts for the establishment of a multi-party democratic system. At this juncture, the unrestrained criticisms and diatribes against the Myanmar Government are unjustified, untimely and counter-productive. Myanmar's current problems stem from the divisions among the national races bequeathed to Myanmar by its colonial past. Therefore, fundamental to all these problems is the question of national unity. Without being able to solve this basic question in a manner acceptable to all the national races, other peripheral issues will remain as difficult as ever. For these reasons, the Government is concentrating first and foremost on the strengthening of national unity, with twin processes. While the National Convention process is making efforts to enshrine the interests of all the national races in the new constitution, the reconciliation process with the armed groups is almost complete but is continuing in tandem. Both processes are

moving in the right direction, gaining momentum, despite the attempts of extraneous forces to disrupt them.

The transition of the Union of Myanmar towards a multi-party democracy will be enhanced if the above-mentioned extraneous forces will resort to less criticism and political negativism and begin an era of constructive engagement and cooperation.

Under these circumstances, only a fair consideration of the situation in Myanmar on the basis of a clear understanding of the current problems in their true historical perspectives will serve the purpose. An unbalanced and intrusive resolution on Myanmar which lacks such an understanding will only be counter-productive.